THE WORLD TOMORROW

IN TWO SECTIONS

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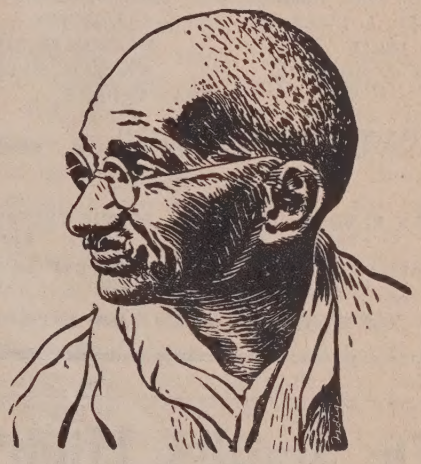
SECTION I

GANDHI'S FAST

Richard B. Gregg



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The Case Against HOOVER

an Editorial

Who are the Democrats?

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

SEPTEMBER 28th

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an editorial

THE WORLD TOMORROW

Vol. XV September 28, 1932 No. 11

Germany's Demand for Arms

To pacifists eager for the boon of disarmament, it seems hard to conceive of a nation which is already to a large degree disarmed, crying out against its "humiliation" and eagerly demanding a chance to arm itself on a basis of equality with its neighbors. Yet such is the position of Germany today; for the unpopularity of the junker dictatorship notwithstanding, recent elections show that roughly half of the German people, in all probability, desire exactly that. To be sure, a large minority within the country itself prefers the scaling down of world armaments to Germany's near-zero level, recognizing that for a country so harassed by unemployment, indebtedness, and turmoil, the cost of heavily arming would impose a suicidal burden. But the treatment of Germany by the victorious Powers after the Armistice has made these farsighted Germans well-nigh impotent.

The Allies, in the Versailles Treaty, pledged disarmament, and as a condition of that pledge, Germany agreed to the disarmament of her own people. Her agreement, of course, was made under compulsion, and was not completely altruistic; seldom to be trusted are the wise acts of a people whose wisdom has been threshed out by a flail in the hands of dictatorial outriders. Nevertheless, in the early days of the German revolution, had the Allies been generous or sincere on their own part, they could have lent strength to the rising tide of German pacifism. Instead, they were niggardly, harsh, and flagrantly hypocritical in placing upon the Germans the fantastic stigma of sole responsibility for the War. Germans by the millions looked across their border and saw France imprisoning its pacifists, saw England maintaining its armaments and military practices even under a Labor cabinet; saw one conference after another reject the pleas of the world's peace workers with suave but effective disdain. Gradually the voices of those who called for "revenge" or at least for self-determination regardless of the Versailles Treaty, found more and more ears ready to listen; the pacifists of Germany saw their power over youth and the working classes being dissipated; the Hitler movement began its phenomenal rise; and there came a day in the midst of suffering and bitterness when nothing could be done to salvage a wrecked chance to regenerate Europe. Lloyd George in England now condemns Great Britain for her recent policy; but he, as much as any man except the unscrupulous Clemenceau, must bear the blame for the initial momentum which has carried the Old World down in one of history's greatest crimes.

That Germany would retire from the Geneva conference unless it held promise to effect a real reduction in arms was apparent long before the present reactionaries came into power. It may be doubted whether the von Papen militarists would not prefer an armed Germany in an armed world to a general arms reduction. But if an armed world is what they want, the Geneva conference set the stage for its appearance with a fanfare of trumpets. Encumbered with selfish considerations, with sheer cynical nationalism, almost totally unredeemed by any statesmanship outside that of Litvinoff and an eleventh-hour effort by President Hoover, the conferees eased the way for the junker coup and helped to usher in the present stalemate.

If the French and British, with the rumored support of the United States through Ambassador Edge and Senator Reed, insist on keeping Germany disarmed merely by a pious hope of later action at Geneva, they will accomplish a miracle. Germans have lived so long at the point of desperation that nothing now likely to happen holds much of a personal menace. It is probably true that no government could maintain power if it acquiesced to the French and British request unless face-saving devices are brought to the rescue. Arming after a fashion, despite M. Herriot's professedly scandalized discoveries, has been going on within Germany for a long time. That is to say, the Steel Helmets, the Nazi storm troops, the republican Reichsbanner, though not making a national force, have been armed and ready for action to fight for their group survival in the chaotic years since the Weimar Constitution. As for the pocket battleships, France's alarms have a comic touch, in that Germany is permitted by treaty to build five, and is now laying only the keel of the third, whereas France herself, in violation of the spirit of the Versailles Treaty if not its letter, has been building five new cruisers. There is indeed a threat to world peace in the von Papen plan for the training of youth, so long as it is under such auspices; but Germans may be excused for a sardonic smile as they contemplate the militarization of French youth and Britain's recent restoration of government subsidies for cadet training.

We infinitely prefer, of course, a disarmed Germany matched by a disarmed Europe and America. But equality even as suggested by M. Herriot and Mr.

MacDonald in their most optimistic hopes for renewed discussions at Geneva, would mean a considerable building up of armament for Germany. Once again, as so often in recent years, the utter bankruptcy of capitalist statesmanship is demonstrated, while the grim tragedy of Europe marches toward what now bids fair to be its greatest post-War crisis.

"Give Us This Day Our Bonus"

We cannot feel that either the American Legion or the President comes out of the recent bonus maneuvers very creditably. Mr. Hoover began the last phase by issuing a report over the authority of his Attorney General which was a biased, colored, and ridiculously inaccurate apologia for the Administration's brutality with the Bonus Expeditionary Force in Washington. The Legion answered by demanding, in a vote of 1,167 to 109 at its convention, immediate payment of the $2,400,000,000 which a cowardly Congress long since promised for 1945. The resolutions committee, however, neglectful of the recent victims of gas, tanks, sabers, bayonets, and the torch, but mindful of political influence, pocketed a resolution condemning the Administration for the official terrorism in the capital city.

If the President had not so far capitulated to the political need for misleading propaganda, he would be deserving of praise for his firm stand against an immediate bonus payment. The principle of the bonus is basically false, and the effects would be injurious; though the promise for 1945, already given, must be redeemed. We admire on this issue the clarity of Norman Thomas who, while Mr. Roosevelt was fidgeting and trying to find a way out that would be expedient, replied promptly to the Legion's query to presidential candidates, by saying that he was opposed to the Legion's plan, though he would be interested in seeing a general project of unemployment relief inaugurated, in which case he would approve bonus payments to unemployed veterans only, as part of the whole scheme.

As for the Hoover-Mitchell report, it is enough to say that it is confounded not simply by detailed reports of eye-witnesses and investigators whom we trust, but that it contains within itself contradictions which vitiate its force. "Indictments have been returned by the Grand Jury," says the report, "against a number of the alleged rioters." The number was exactly three, and these have not been convicted, and as a matter of fact have not even come up for trial; while not one of the three is either radical or criminal. Forty-seven were, in truth, arrested as Communists, but all had to be released for want of any evidence indicating wrongdoing. The number of those with alleged criminal records, 1,069, included men whose "crimes" had consisted of vagrancy or of being A. W. O. L., and even included also the large number of the marchers taken into custody at Washington for bonus and unemployment demonstrations. We hold no brief for the hi pressure lobbying used for so indiscriminate a form relief as the bonus; but Mr. Hoover's mode of cov ing up an initial blunder was deserving of rebuke, a irrespective of the Legion, is receiving it in so rather devastating political repercussions.

The Legion's official demand for an immedi bonus will precipitate a postponed but inevitable cla of the first magnitude when Congress reconven There the lobby of the special pleaders will next w ter be met with a more stubborn opposition than it h hitherto experienced, an opposition that is being ra idly mobilized the country over. Not the least u fortunate thing about the crusade for resistance to t bonus, however, is the lack of interest exhibited by leading spokesmen in any really thoroughgoing reli for the jobless millions, irrespective of war service any special status. To confront a selfish grab lobby one thing; it is quite another to defend taxpaye blindly against a realistic and generous program f the prevention of misery on the part of millions our people.

Peace in the Gran Chaco?

If history ever concocted a devil's brew, it did with respect to that huge stretch of swamp, jungl brush and timberland which lies between Bolivia an Paraguay. Starting with the Spanish conquests mo than a hundred years ago, the struggle for possessio of this area has made it not the least menacing of th world's irredentist territories. No matter how man treaties have been arranged to bring about a peaceabl division of the region, failure to ratify has followe and the dispute has been thrust forward to anothe generation. Thus when Bolivia was cut off from th sea to the westward by Chile in the anomalous Wa of the Pacific, and became perforce a landlocked na tion, the thirst for ownership of the Gran Chaco Bo eal became intensified on her part, while her urgin only deepened Paraguayan resistance. Guerrilla war fare has been fought along the line of forts stretchin out across the Gran Chaco intermittently for man years, Paraguay's main concern being her need for th oil and minerals that are supposed to lie beneath th sterile-appearing wastelands; while Bolivia desperatel longs for a chance to run a railroad across the Chac to the River Paraguay and thus obtain access to th Atlantic without fear of too rigorous Paraguayan con trol.

It was this rivalry which precipitated the outbreak i 1928 that was quelled only after energetic effort by the Pan American Union and the League of Na tions. It is the same combination of motives, recently sharpened by dramatic war preparations and the re sort to patriotic propaganda by both governments, which has brought the two countries into fresh conflict. The strong declaration of American neutral powers

9 in number, that they would recognize no gains made or either side by force of arms appears to have halted he drift toward war; as have the stiffer and stiffer otes of the League, and a threatened blockade of both ations by Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru.

Paraguay, at least, has historic reason for knowing what a war might do to her people. In the war between that country and a trio of other South American ountries in 1870, out of a total population of 1,337,-29 all but 221,079 were slaughtered, and of this re-aining 221,079 only 28,746 were men. This terrific pset in population balance left a permanent mark on he nation, and even yet its population has not climbed ack to a million. Bolivia, too, has suffered enough rom warfare to know better; and even though she three times as strong as Paraguay in numbers, her osition gives her a considerable military handicap. Unfortunately enough, both of these countries have ad plenty of historic lessons to teach them why they hould suspect the very nations which are now most ager to intercede on behalf of peace. And as Louis e Brouckère, the venerable Belgian Socialist states-an, pointed out in a recent issue of *Peuple*, "It would ppear that on both sides the arrival of foreigners reedy for burdensome concessions is regarded with ome apprehension."

abor Still Moves Left!

Although we have commented in two recent issues n the development within the American Federation of abor of sentiment for an independent labor party, we re compelled to do so again, and with genuine pleas-re; for the United Textile Workers, at the close of s biennial convention on September 16, came out for party of labor which would steer clear of the two ajor parties. It is the first step thus taken by a large ternational union. This does not mean we are su-remely confident that if a labor party like that en-isaged by the United Textile Workers were estab-shed, we should necessarily be on the road to the olitical emancipation of the American laboring man nd woman. As we have stated before, we place our ope in the Socialist Party of America, and believe that uture developments may show a surprising strength or the Socialist Party in this country. But the action aken by the U. T. W. does not bar the possibility of a ater move toward socialism; and any courageous at-empt to free the large unions from the shackles of ld-party deceit would be a blessing. That the A. F. f L. as a whole will welcome this expression of grow-ng independence, we doubt; but nevertheless Emil ieve, who introduced the resolution adopted at the onvention of the Textile Workers and who is a Vice-resident of the League for Independent Political ction, was elected as a delegate to the forthcoming . F. of L. convention at Cincinnati, and has an-ounced his intention of introducing a similar resolu-tion before the larger body. The language used by the resolution adopted by the United Textile Workers is decidedly interesting. It refers to the "lack of understanding and brutal hostility" manifested both by Republicans and Democrats in various labor situations. It declares that "the traditional policy of the American labor movement" has "not only failed to bring results" but has "done much to undermine the morale and destroy the militancy of our movement." We hail with cheers the plain sense of such words as these: "If we will look at our problems not merely from the standpoint of the moment but from the standpoint of a period of years, it will be realized that better results both materially and spiritually can be obtained by consistently, courageously and honestly fighting to build a separate political party which will only reflect the wishes and ideals of the laboring masses."

Intellectuals and Communism

A group of intellectuals have signed a statement expressing their support of the Communist ticket in the coming presidential election. Among the names included are those of Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, John Dos Passos, Sidney Hook and Lincoln Steffens. Whatever may be thought of the Communist sympathies of these writers and philosophers, no one can deny the significance of such open and avowed support of the revolutionary cause. It may mark a real epoch in American political life in presenting the first evidence of the penetration of the revolutionary proletarian idea into the world of culture. It is doubtful whether nations in which communism is much further advanced than it is among us could produce a larger body of cultural leaders in support of the Communist cause. Perhaps it is an omen of the rapidity with which the traditional American middle-class culture will disintegrate once the process of disintegration begins, and of the speed with which we shall be catapulted toward political crises.

The disappointing aspect of the statement is its evasion of the real distinctions between communism and socialism. "The socialists aim in theory" it declares, "to abolish the present system, but they are doing nothing to organize a labor movement by which this may be accomplished." A vote for the Communist Party is regarded "as the only effective way to protest against the chaos . . . of the present system." It alone "is working to educate and organize the classes dispossessed by the present system so as to make them efficient instruments for establishing a new society."

There is not a word here about the Communist doctrine that political methods are futile and that revolution is the only effective means of building a new society. Why don't these intellectuals tell the truth and say that when they speak of making workers "efficient instruments of establishing a new society" they mean making them into revolutionists? Do they imagine

that anything is gained by the few votes which they might win with such an evasion? Or are they themselves so recently emancipated from their middle-class liberalism that they are squeamish about confessing their allegiance to a revolutionary creed?

The charges they make against European Socialists are unfortunately true; and their truth points to some very serious limitations of parliamentary socialism. But a modern technological civilization will find other and equally grave difficulties with the way of revolution. These must be carefully weighed and analyzed. It is ridiculous for a revolutionary party to make an appeal to the voters with no more revelation of its real policies and intentions than this statement of the Communistic literati. What do they mean when they say that a vote for the Communist Party is "the only effective way to protest" against the present system? What do they mean by "the interests of the people at large"? That phrase ought to be outlawed in any rigorous Communist interpretation of the class struggle. Our guess is that the real Communists will have a certain degree of cynical contempt for such evasions, even though they will capitalize the statement for its immediate value.

Dividends in Destruction

Most recent among the unsavory disclosures regarding the life of Ivar Kreuger, the Swedish match king, is the manner in which he had stretched his influence out to corrupt the life of his own nation. What a sample of capitalism's far-famed "incentive" and its contribution to civilization! Striding the world in epic grandeur, dealing affably with his sycophants among business leaders in our own and other nations, this man has bequeathed a legacy of large-scale rottenness which will not be forgotten for decades. Not content merely to defraud—the deficit in the Kreuger and Toll interests is now announced as $179,000,000—it became necessary, in order to cover up the wrongdoing, to spread still more widely his blighting power. Even so respected a figure as Dr. Helmer Key, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet,* had received from Kreuger not only a personal loan of $11,035 but, in what seems tantamount to secret bribes, $21,283. No wonder that the scandal has even deposed a premier! As a vindication, also, of the assertion so frequently made in European circles that Communists seem often willing to play the game with capitalists if they can thereby grow in disruptive power—though we do not generalize from this incident—it has been revealed that the head of Sweden's Communist Party had borrowed over $8,000 from the late industrial baron, and that a Swedish Communist journal owes $17,900 to the dead man's estate.

Defenders of the capitalist "order" would doubtless contend that such a life is not typical, and that it is unfair to attack capitalism itself because of an extreme instance such as this. The answer is th revelations of a similar sort, if not of similar mag tude, are all too frequent. Why not? A mode of l which has for its very basis the acquisition of wea and power at the expense of others, and which p ceeds by harsh rivalry to obtain what is possible the race for gain, cannot be exculpated when, as often happens, the normal procedure of its everyc existence becomes exaggerated into an apotheosis its particular economic genius.

Slum Clearance and the R.F.C.

Due to the insistence of Senator Wagner, the which permitted the Reconstruction Finance Corpo tion to loan $1,800,000,000 to the states for "se liquidating" projects included housing as one of the jects for which such loans could be made. It w properly provided however that these loans could or be made to limited dividend corporations whose re and financial policies were regulated by state housi commissions. Since New York is the only state whi has such a commission, it alone at present has the m chinery to entitle it to such loans. The members of t New York Commission have already presented stat manlike applications for $50,000,000 and may short present projects calling for $70,000,000 more. Illinois, due to the activity of Alfred K. Stern, simil plans are going forward, and action is under way in number of other states, including Ohio, as well.

It is high time that such action was taken in ord at once to furnish unemployed men with work and help meet one of the greatest blots upon our nation life, namely, the lack of decent housing for our lo income groups. Such action by the government shou go far, moreover, to inject much needed addition monetary purchasing power into our economic syste

It should, however, be borne in mind that as lo as the projects are kept on a strictly self-liquidati basis, it will probably be impossible to build apa ments which will rent for less than eight to nine dolla per month per room. This will make it possible f those with family incomes of from $1,800 to $2,500 get far better housing accommodations than they present enjoy, but it will not take care of the famili of the unskilled and semi-skilled who cannot afford pay more than $5 or $6 per month per room. order to house these groups, who more than any othe need decent quarters, it will be necessary to have so form of governmentally subsidized housing.

Many municipalities can ultimately contribute to th end by engaging in housing activities directly, supplyin the subsidies needed from taxes on the increase i bare land values. The finances of most cities are ho ever in such difficult straits at the moment and th slump in real estate has been so great that it is not present possible for many municipalities to take su

tion in the next year or so. If the new housing is erefore to reach the class which needs it most, it ll be necessary for the federal government to sink me money permanently in slum clearance and garden artment projects. Such grants would not be finan- lly self-liquidating but they would be socially self- uidating not only in reduced unemployment but also a lower crime and delinquency rate and in happier mes. Sometime America will have to come to such program as this and there can be no better period begin than the present.

Mr. Hoover on Charity

President Hoover, in opening the Welfare and Re- f Mobilization Conference last week, again ex- essed his preference for private charity over public lief in words of classic moral obtuseness. "Personal elings and personal responsibility of men to their ighbors," declared the President, "is the soul of nuine good-will. It is the essential foundation of odern society. A cold and distant charity, which ts out its sympathy only through the tax collector, elds a very meager dole of unloving and perfunctory lief."

If Mr. Hoover were in actual distress he might pre- r adequate relief, officially and impersonally given, to adequate relief, given with a gesture of tenderness d kindness. He might prefer it not only because it ould be physically more adequate but because it ould not exact such a heavy toll of gratitude. What given in kindness must be received in gratitude. To aintain a spirit of humble gratitude toward one's nefactors month after month is a rather difficult hievement, particularly when the idea begins to wn that the kindness is a little spurious and that a st society would not heap up so many surpluses which nd people could give to the less fortunate and would t have so many unfortunates who needed relief.

Nothing produces greater moral confusion in our ciety than personal kindness within an essentially just social system. Unfortunately the institutions religion, with their moral ideals oriented in per- nal and moral conceptions, are easily lost in this con- sion. If the highest official of the nation gives him- lf to it as well, it proves that our confusion is great deed. Governments have nothing to do with kind- ss and benevolence. It is their business to establish stice. There will always be room in a just society r the exercise of charity. Charity is a flower which hances the beauty of the garden of justice. But when is used to obscure the absence of justice the flower comes noisome and its odor putrid. Love at its best imaginative justice which goes beyond the rough jus- e of the state. At its worst it is sentimental good- ill which accomplishes less than the justice of the ate and covers its social futilities with confused ntimentalities.

The fact that the American people have not learned this primary lesson in morals is the measure of their political immaturity.

Catholics Move Toward Pacifism

An important pronouncement on the ethics of war was made recently by the Ethics Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace, under the chairmanship of Father Ryan. While this report repudiates *theoretical* pacifism, its conclusions constitute *practical* pacifism. Eight conditions must be fulfilled before war can be justified, and "whenever they fail of verification, war is illicit." These conditions are: defensive warfare alone is justifiable; it may be undertaken solely in vindication of a strict right; there must be adequate proportion between the violated right and the evils of war; recourse may be had to war only as a last appeal; there must be reasonable hope of victory; war may be initiated by public authority only; the belligerents must have the right intention; and war must be rightly conducted. Under the last point are listed these specifications: no malicious and slanderous propaganda; excessive violence to combatants unjustifiable; violence to non-combatants unjustifiable.

If Catholics in the future are to sanction only those wars in which these conditions have been fulfilled, their actual conduct will be that of absolute pacifists, for it is simply unimaginable that a modern government bent upon hostilities would scrupulously observe these conditions. In vigorous language the committee emphasizes this improbability: "In consequence of modern methods of war it [defensive war] is, in fact, becoming as much a slaughter of human beings as is offensive warfare. . . . As for defensive warfare, it is becoming increasingly difficult, if not actually impossible, to justify it as waged between two large states in modern times, especially because of the question of proportionate evil and of the ease with which impartial arbitration can be had in all cases. . . . There is even a conviction rapidly gaining ground, especially among the Catholic moralists of certain European countries, to the effect that no reason, however great, can ever be proportionately grave to justify warfare between two large states in modern times. . . . We may even be justified in asserting, with the European moralists whose contention we have just cited, that such time has already arrived . . . it is becoming ever more difficult to find all the conditions verified simultaneously in any given case. And in few, if any, modern wars have they been observed. . . . And, undoubtedly, the time cannot be far distant and it is not improbable, perhaps, to say it is already here, when insistence upon the rule of proportionate evil and the rule of last appeal will outlaw all war on a large scale among the Great Powers." The conclusion seems to us inescapable that loyalty to the principles enunciated in this report leads straight to practical war-resistance.

The Case Against Hoover

FEW men have evidenced a greater moral deterioration than has Herbert Hoover in the last ten years. Traces of sincere Quakerism were evidenced in his modification of our Haitian policy, in his attempt to make the London Naval Conference a success and in his defiance of the Navy League. But these have been but gleams of wintry sunshine in what has been on the whole a dismal record.

Beginning with the President's entrance into the Harding Cabinet, he more and more suffered a deep sea change. With Mr. Hughes, he tacitly allowed himself to be used as window-dressing behind which the cronies of President Harding carried out their illegitimate purposes. There is no record indeed of his ever having protested against the shameful performances of that Administration. In the bull-market era of sordid materialism illuminated only by ballyhoo, he not only never uttered a warning, but in his campaign for the Presidency actually claimed the credit for that period for his party and depended for his election upon the belief that the Republican Party alone would ensure its continuance.

For nearly a year and a half Mr. Hoover tried to restore prosperity by mental healing. He ignored the fact that conditions were growing steadily worse and issued a series of the most patently false and nonsensical sunshine stories ever perpetrated by a public official. Despite the common pride of engineers that they are able to face facts, no President since James Buchanan has evaded them more than did Mr. Hoover during the first part of the depression. In consequence of his glossing over of conditions, it was impossible to awaken the public to the real situation, with the result that adequate relief was not given to the unemployed, and constructive proposals for coping with the depression were ignored.

Indeed, when Senator Wagner, by dint of great effort, succeeded in getting Congress to pass his statesmanlike bill for a federal-state free employment service, President Hoover petulantly vetoed the measure in a message that was almost wantonly inaccurate and wrong-headed. To defend himself, Mr. Hoover then superimposed a so-called national employment service upon the state systems and allowed it to be manned by a personnel which is shockingly inefficient. When out of office, Mr. Hoover had advocated a vigorous public works program as a means of building up purchasing power in a period of depression. In office, however, he successfully delayed such action for over two years. During the winter of 1931-32 his obstinacy defeated the federal relief for the unemployed proposed by Senators La Follette and Costigan, although the inadequacy of private and local funds was evid to every one in touch with the situation. By his fail to provide relief, Mr. Hoover was therefore par responsible for the great distress of millions.

But while Mr. Hoover has turned a deaf ear to t needs of the common people, he has been all attenti to the demands of Big Business. Although no fede money could be given until summer for the une ployed, two billions of dollars were placed at the d posal of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation loan out to the banks, the industries and the railroa In Mr. Hoover's philosophy only the rich can be aid directly and the poor shall share in the protection a prosperity only as it seeps downward. The thoug that the purchasing power of the masses should fi be built up and that the wealthy should share in th protection as it seeps upward is apparently totally ali to his principles, despite the lip-service he has given the policy of maintaining money wage rates. It is wonder, therefore, that Mr. Hoover threw his weig behind the proposed sales tax in an effort to burd the poor rather than the rich with the government deficit.

Mr. Hoover moreover must bear the responsibili for his approval of the stupid Hawley-Smoot-Grun tariff. Despite the protests of over a thousand eco omists who pointed out in prophetic language what i effects would be, he not only signed the bill but he h since almost defiantly declared in favor of hig protection.

But perhaps most of all Mr. Hoover and the grou behind him are to be condemned because the depressio has taught them nothing. Men's jobs are not safe, b Mr. Hoover has continued to oppose unemployme insurance, a managed currency, and a planned eco omy. Men's savings are not safe, but he has taken n steps to reform our banking system, or to introduc greater safety into the issuance of so-called securitie The Insull debacle has apparently taught him nothin of the need to protect both the investors in and th consumers of utility services from the exploitation o selfish financiers suffering from megalomania. He ha no program for the breakdown of the farming indu try, of coal mining, and of textiles. He has, in shor no real program at all, but only hopes to muddl through. He and his group would in fact be patheti were it not for their hard arrogance. The most kindl thing which could be done for Mr. Hoover, therefore is to retire him to private life, where in humility h may recover those qualities which, during the five year from 1914 to 1919, once won for him the deserve admiration of his fellow citizens.

as Brailsford sees it

Democracy in the Balance

THE German Reichstag, as I write, is expecting its dissolution, d if this doom should fall on it, it will mean the aining, if not the violan, of the Constitution. In e face of this probable ent, I, who have always called myself a democrat, d myself an interested but indifferent spectator. I not disposed to write an article of protest denouncg the President and the Chancellor for this outrage. m curious and anxious about what will happen thereter, but I am not indignant. At the risk of seeming oistic, I am tempted to examine my state of mind ore closely. Why do I feel none of the emotion with ich, for example, I watched the destruction of the ssian Duma by the Tsar? Is it simply that the hisical conditions are different, or have I lost in 1932 e faith in democracy which I possessed in 1906?

To feel for this Reichstag any ardent partisanship not easy for a Socialist. It can prove that it is orkable" only by showing that it is ready to supt a ministry drawn from the Nazis and the Catholic ntre. The former profess a furious creed of naalism and militarism, and though this blood-stained rty uses the word "Socialist" in its title, it seems to ply little more than a hatred of bankers and finanrs because they are often Jews. To accept these ople as honest defenders of the Constitution is imssible: they are sworn enemies of Parliamentary mocracy. The Centre, on the other hand, is respectle, law-abiding and moderately liberal in its attitude international and social questions, but by reason of solid virtues it is perhaps the most effective buttress the capitalist system in Germany. I cannot imagine at a coalition ministry of these two contradictory rties would do or attempt, save that each would try outwit and destroy the other. The alternative is a ore or less dictatorial ministry of squires and solers, which would manage Germany on the principles Bismarck. I like that prospect no better, but ither do I dread it more.

"Indifference," the reader may answer, "is natural ough at this point. But surely you are taking a ort-range view. The Nazi-Catholic ministry could t last for ever. But it would at least keep the form d procedure of democracy alive. When it collapsed, e might hope that the next election would yield a majority of the Left. On the other hand, a ministry under von Papen and von Schleicher means the abandonment of majority government, the rejection of the whole procedure of party rule, a return to the irresponsibility of the Kaiser's epoch, and probably some tinkering with the present franchise. A democrat must be prepared to endure the leadership of people as repugnant as Hitler and his gangsters, if they have numbers behind them. The ideal of government by the people is worth preserving even if for a few years a nation must pay heavily for its errors of judgment."

That is what I ought to feel, if I were still an orthodox democrat. I do not feel it and I wonder why. I do not greatly care even if the present method of election should be altered. It is as near perfection as anything of the kind can be. It results in a parliament which is an exact mirror of national opinion. It is in its consistent logic an immense advance on our crude British and American systems, which are capable of inflating a minority into a majority, can yield no accurate measure of opinion when several parties are in the field, and may (as happened last year in England to the Labour Party) give to a powerful minority a mere fraction of the representation to which it is entitled. Yet the perfect system may produce an unworkable parliament, and foster a habit of compromise that must destroy all honesty in politics. It seems as if this perfect system of proportional representation may be a *reductio ad absurdum* of democracy itself. Either opinion must be distorted and exaggerated to yield a workable majority, or else by fantastic compromises the will of the electorate is thwarted. Democracy, even in lands so experienced as England or so intelligent as Germany, is not an easy system to work.

THIS, however, is a very small part of my difficulty. My real doubt is whether the assumptions of classical liberalism, which Social Democrats swallowed whole, will work at all in an epoch that calls for fundamental change. Liberalism, to do it justice, was a consistent philosophy. It was built on *laissez faire*. It held that the state should confine itself to the defense of its frontiers and the maintenance of law and order. Other tasks, indeed, were added—sanitation and education—but for the rest it was held that com-

petition and the free play of economic forces would make for the general good. A wide franchise was desired, chiefly because in old countries like England, much lopping of privilege, much loosening of medieval shackles was necessary, before industry could enjoy effective freedom. But even this should be done very gradually, and therefore the ideal constitution, whether in England or America, was held to be a mechanism of checks and balances, which would render such change as might be unavoidable deliberate and slow.

A CONSTITUTION of this type breaks down hopelessly the moment it is confronted with a task that contradicts its underlying philosophy. Chancellor Brüning, coping with economic chaos, had to rule by emergency decrees. Our British Labour Party, planning ahead to nationalize banking, electricity, transport and the land, when next it returns to power, declares through the lips of even its moderate leaders that it will legislate in the same rapid way. Parliament may be an efficient instrument if all it has to do is to smile benignly above a welter of competitive industry. But can you conceive Parliament or Reichstag or Congress as a planning authority, taking over the gigantic task of socialization in a transition period of sharp conflict and bitter distress?

"But at least," the reader may remind me, "your Labour Party would have behind it a mandate from the electorate, some general authority authorizing it to proceed in this way. That is still democracy." I agree, but I ask myself doubtfully whether at the end of five years it would be willing, as the law requires, to submit its work to the judgment of this same electorate. Will it really, if it has laid the foundations of a new society, risk its overthrow on the hazards of an election? A false rumor, a lying accusation, eve forged document may turn the scales, as we have perienced in recent English elections. The elector is uneducated and crude in mind, precisely becaus suffers under the system that we are trying to ov throw. In five years one might make and impos plan for industry, but could one hope in that br space to enjoy its fruits? Has the average man in walk of life the imagination that can forecast the tailed consequences of a fundamental change? A when he comes to vote, is it not a savage joke to p tend that he exercises free judgment? Even if workers' party could pay for adequate propagan buy newspapers, and conduct radio stations, wo wage-earners even then dare to act, or even to thi against the will of the owning class?

The democrat has still an answer, which I ha often made. These are handicaps to test our will a our faith. To plan, to re-organize, to transfer pow is not enough. All that is vain without great lead ship. Our life on this planet is a spiritual adventu We must first think socialism if we would enjoy Only when the masses aspire to equality can it be re ized. A dictated change must mean a mere alterati in externals: there would be no liberation of the spir There would be, on the contrary, precisely that stifli of free thought, that suppression which we see in Ru sia. No, you must wait till the mass will follow a stand firm.

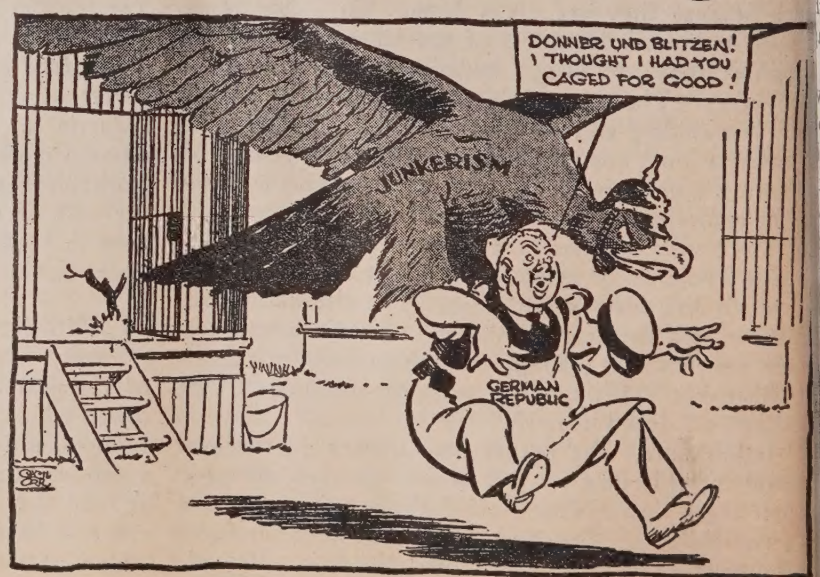
A noble argument, perhaps a convincing argumer until one looks out on this world of 1932, driftin through mass-unemployment to desperate remedi that must end in war.

H. N. Brailsford

London, September 6, 1932.

The Conquered Nation

A conquered nation is like a man with cancer: he can think of nothing else, and is forced to place himself, to the exclusion of all better company, in the hands of quacks who profess to treat or cure cancer. . . . A healthy nation is as unconscious of its nationality as a healthy man of his bones. But if you break a nation's nationality, it will think of nothing else but getting it set again. It will listen to no reformer, to no philosopher, to no preacher, until the demand of the Nationalist is granted.— *George Bernard Shaw, in* John Bull's Other Island, *1907.*



The Evening News, Glasgow

The Come-back

The Meaning of Gandhi's Fast

RICHARD B. GREGG

MAHATMA GANDHI is going to fast "unto death" in an effort to prevent the British government from doing what he believes to be a olitical and moral wrong to the Indian "untouchbles," the poorest and most oppressed group in ndia. The "untouchables" number about 44 millions, ccording to the report of the Simon Commission, and bout 35 millions in the estimation of the more recent ranchise Commission, headed by Lord Lothian.

The recent Indian communal decision of the British overnment provides for special representation in the rovincial legislatures for various religious, social and conomic groups of the population, and separate elecorates for the choosing of these special representaives. With regard to the depressed classes, or "unouchables," who constitute the lowest stratum of Hinduism, it provides that they shall vote in the Genral (which means Hindu) electorate, but that "in elected areas where the depressed classes are most numerous" there will be "special constituencies in which only members of the depressed classes electorally qualified will be entitled to vote." "Untouchables" voting in such a special constituency will also be entitled to vote in the General (Hindu) constituency. They will vote for their own candidates to fill "a number of special seats assigned to them" in the Legislatures. Except in Madras, these special areas are not to cover the whole area of any province. Thus, in districts where the depressed classes are most numerous they would have a double vote, once as Hindus and again as depressed classes.

At first sight this looks fair enough. But everyone who has lived in India knows that, because of centuries of oppression by high-caste Hindus, the "untouchables" are perhaps the most abject and timid of mankind. The vast majority of them have never before voted. Under this proposed plan, in districts where they are few in number they would be afraid to vote in opposition to the politicians of higher castes for fear that it might be discovered and render them liable to still more persecution. Only in districts where they are numerous would they be likely to pick up courage and have political opinions of their own.

But the British plan provides that in those very districts where political life would first begin among the "untouchables," they would be a separate political community. This would result in "self-interest, suspicion and animosity, poisoning the new growth of their political consciousness, and effectively preventing the development of a national corporate spirit," as pointed out by the report of the British (Donoughmore) commission on Ceylon, in relation to communal representation there. To the economic, social and religious separateness of the depressed classes the British government would now add political separateness. The British plan appears at first sight not to set up separate electorates for depressed classes, but actually it does so in the places where those groups will first begin independent political life. It is in those districts that the leaders of the depressed classes will develop and from there carry the communal poison to all other parts of India.

The report of the Simon Commission (vol. II, p. 56) says: ". . . . Communal representation . . . is an undoubted obstacle in the way of the growth of a sense of common citizenship. It is open to all the objections formulated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. . . . Communal electorates, the authors of the Joint Report declared, perpetuate class distinction and stereotype existing relations, and they constitute a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle."

IN regard specifically to separate electorates for the depressed classes the Simon Report (vol. II, p. 65) says: ". . . we are averse from stereotyping the differences between the depressed classes and the remainder of the Hindus by such a step, which we consider would introduce a new and serious bar to their ultimate political amalgamation with others. . . . If separate electorates have to be maintained for certain classes which have already secured them, that is no reason for bringing other cases within the mode of this treatment, if it can be avoided. A separate electorate for depressed classes means . . . stigmatizing each individual voter on the list, and militates against the process . . . of helping those who are depressed to rise in the social and economic scale."

Gandhi's plan for the "untouchables" and other communities is adult suffrage for all, voting by villages and town districts in joint electorates for all communities, with special reserved seats in the legislatures for the minorities, including the depressed classes, according to population or on some other agreed basis. He thinks, however, that the British methods and perhaps the presence of the British governors in India would prevent an agreement. All through the Round Table Conference he protested against communal electorates, and clearly showed how they would work out in practice. He agrees with the Donoughmore Commission

on the constitution of Ceylon (1928) that once it is begun "the desire for communal representation tends to grow rather than to die down." That has been true of the Moslem communal representation begun in India in 1909, and would certainly be so at the end of the 20 years' trial proposed for the depressed classes. Gandhi would end the customary disabilities of the depressed classes by legislative and private social reform measures, but he is sure that separate electorates will be poison both to the depressed classes and to the whole body politic.

These British government commissions thus support Mr. Gandhi's objections and explain the political and moral wrong involved. Why does the government now run counter to its former advisers? Probably because Indian nationalism has developed such strength since the publication of the Simon Report that, in order to rule, the government must try to divide the Indians still further. If you are an imperialist, sooner or later you *must* divide in order to rule, especially over an alien people who desire self-government. Perhaps the British Tories in power do not believe that Gandhi really has a strong enough following to rally effectively to him on this point, and hope by this move to end what they call "the Gandhi myth."

Single-handed, against the criticisms of his opponents and the entreaties of his friends, Gandhi is offering his life for "the poorest, the lowliest and the lost." It is an example of wholly non-violent moral resistance on his part. It is a moral test of both the British government and the British and Indian peoples.

I think that among British statesmen there is no man who would alone do such an act for the poorest section of British society. Do they dare let the world see how far an Indian, a member of a subject nation, surpasses them in courage and moral stature? Would not the prestige of Great Britain be lowered by Gandhi's death in such a manner?

THERE are a considerable number of sensitive Englishmen who will be profoundly troubled at the thought of Gandhi dying because of a British government edict, however much they may fail to understand him or disagree with him intellectually. Perhaps they can influence the government to change its decree on this point. A considerable number of people in the Western world will be reminded of Christ and the Roman Empire. Perhaps the British government is taking as great a risk as is Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi's risk is physical; the government's risk is moral.

India understands, in the main, the essential meaning of Gandhi's act, even though the rest of the world may not. And India is likely to demonstrate the political power of love. When Gandhi was released from jail in 1931, crowds numbering well over 100,000 came to see him. This time there might be a vast, spontaneous, non-violent movement among the peasants and depressed classes. The news of his fast and its general reason will be known in all the villages throughout India. The thirteen Hindu Moderates who by their recent refusal to coöperate with the government compelled it to yield in part to their demands will be apt again to refuse to coöperate, in order to try to help save Gandhi's life.

All Indians, whether supporting or opposed to Gandhi politically, know that he is chiefly responsible for their recent growth of political power and self-respect. The Indian communalist leaders are no doubt selfish, but for political reasons, if for no others, they do not care to share with the British government the blame for Gandhi's death. Dr. Ambedkar, a leader of the section of "untouchables" who favors separate electorates, is reported as condemning Gandhi for his fast, and saying that he himself will not change his position. But before he went to the Round Table Conference Dr. Ambedkar favored joint electorates, and public opinion may induce him to come back to that position.

The Viceroy's refusal to see Gandhi last January at the time of his commitment to prison, the continued existence and harsh administration of the repressive ordinances, and many other factors have created a deep and widespread disgust and resentment against the administration. Desire for self-government is stronger than it was last winter. The largest provincial group of Moslems, those of Bengal, strongly favor joint electorates. Not one of the communities is wholly satisfied by the award. There are, then, a number of factors which may help to make a communal agreement possible. If the Indian communities agree upon "a practicable alternative scheme," the British government has agreed to accept it in place of this award. The pressure of Indian public opinion, as Gandhi's strength wanes day after day, will be likely to compel both the Indian communalists and the British government to yield before he dies. If an agreement becomes probable, we may find the government suddenly yielding in order to save itself from defeat on a broader front.

If Gandhi dies in opposition to the government and because of what the government has done, his followers by millions will always be in opposition to the British; and he has taught them an effective method. The government does not want a permanent guaranteed opposition of that size and power. If it shows itself entirely ruthless in regard to Gandhi's life, I think any constitution of British manufacture would be unworkable in India.

If Gandhi dies from this fast, his death will personify and dramatize the ruthlessness of British imperialism, and will, I believe, end in India the moral influence of Western culture as well as its political power.

Who are the Democrats?*

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

EDMUND BURKE would have described the Democratic Party as a candidate for contradictory honors. This contradiction is of a dual nature. The first conflicting element comes from the fact that the geographical sections which it seeks to unite are, as becomes evident every four years, mutually hostile to each other, while the second is the even greater antagonism between the interests of the diverse social classes to which the party seeks to appeal.

The real strength of the Democrats lies in the states south of the Mason and Dixon line and in the corrupt political machines of the Northern urban centers of Boston, New York, Jersey City, Chicago and Kansas City. Never was there a more incongruous combination. The former are predominantly rural and Protestant, the latter urban and Catholic; the Southerners are dry, while their Northern allies are soaking wet; the Southern leaders, while conservative in spirit, are generally characterized by a high sense of personal honor and by real intelligence, while most of their Northern compeers are conspicuously lacking in both of those qualities. This is one reason why the party, though strong in approximately two-thirds of the states, tends to fall apart nationally in the presidential campaigns. If the Democrats could only prevent their Southern and Northern wings from ever meeting and could manage their affairs by mail, all might go well with them. But every four years the two groups must come face to face in a national convention. This meeting so sates the combative instincts of the public that for months there is little or no demand for a professional prizefight.

But the fundamental discord inside the party is even greater within any given section. In the South the Democrats are as much the party of property as are the Republicans in the North. The planter aristocracy together with the professional classes, and more recently the industrial and commercial leaders, dominate the party in most of the Southern states and keep it thoroughly conservative. At the same time, the small farmers of the back-country, contemptuously styled "hill-billies" by the prosperous, and the factory workers, are also inside the party. These latter classes have many pressing and legitimate grievances which the government should relieve, but thus far the various fustian leaders who have arisen to represent them have not really sought to do so. Tillman and Blease in South Carolina, Tom Watson in Georgia, Catts in Florida, Vardaman and Bilbo in Mississippi, Tom Heflin in Alabama, Jeff Davis in Arkansas, Huey Long in Louisiana and Jim and Ma Ferguson of Texas have all contributed to the gayety of nations but hardly to a statesmanlike dealing with the real problems of the South. These leaders have instead all too often sought to cover up their lack of action in vital matters by appeals to race prejudice or to cupidity. The result in the South is a party of combined conservatism and demagogy devoid of a program.

In the North the situation is no less hopeless for true liberalism. There the dominant forces are the political machines of the large cities together with enough wealthy millionaires to prevent the party from ever menacing the interests of property. The Boston Democracy smells indeed to high heaven, with its extraordinary collection of such leaders as "Honey" Fitzgerald, Daniel H. Coakley, Martin Lomasney and Mayor James M. Curley. No one in his senses could ever expect reform from such a group as that. Senator David I. Walsh and Governor Joseph B. Ely are supposed to represent the so-called "better element" in the party but while they are beyond question personally honest, their records do not inspire much enthusiasm. Senator Walsh, while posing as a liberal, has as a matter of fact trimmed on nearly all of the important issues which have arisen. Elected to the Senate originally on the pledge that he would loyally support Woodrow Wilson, he almost immediately, because of the Irish hatred of England, turned against the League of Nations and made common cause in this fight with his colleague Henry Cabot Lodge. He opposed the maternity welfare bill and the La Follette-Costigan bill for federal relief to the unemployed but favored the sales tax. He also supported numerous proposals to increase rates in the Hawley-Smoot-Grundy tariff of 1930. In the face of such a record Senator Walsh can scarcely claim to be an economic liberal.

IN New York City the Democratic Party is composed of Tammany and its allies. After the disclosures which have been made in the last two years no one can claim, as did Smith and his friends four years ago, that Tammany has changed its spots and that its heart beats for the common people. The spectacle which Theofel, McQuade, Farley, Olvany and Walker made as they testified before Judge Seabury has been exceeded only by the way in which the Tammany leaders and legislators have sought at every

* This is the second of a series of four articles describing the personnel of each of the political parties. An analysis of the Communist Party by McAlister Coleman will appear in our next issue.

turn to hamstring and defeat the investigation. The Brooklyn boss, John H. McCooey, could not have been more inaccurately described than by Miss Elizabeth Marbury when, in a burst of enthusiasm, she is reported to have likened him to one of Raphael's angels! Nor is Tammany without allies upstate. The dominant Albany group of Democrats are no improvement on the former Republican boss, William Barnes, and the situation is but little better in most of the other upstate cities.

In New Jersey the czar of the Democratic party is Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City. Mayor Hague has become, according to all reports, an extremely wealthy man, but when called upon by a legislative committee to testify concerning the sources of his wealth, he refused. In Philadelphia the Democratic Party is commonly charged with being as much in league with the dominant Republicans as the New York City Republicans are with Tammany. The Philadelphia Democrats have never given the Republicans or the groups behind the Vare machine any opposition and have never presented the voters with a progressive alternative. Indeed, on the one occasion when they did carry the city, the gubernatorial election of 1930, Pinchot was running on the Republican ticket and the Vares, backed up by the utility and business interests, turned openly to the Democrats as their life-savers.

The Democratic Party is in general not very strong in Ohio, although it does frequently elect a governor. It is certainly superior to the Republican Party in that state in both character and intelligence. In Cleveland, however, its nominal leader is Bert Gongwer, with Newton D. Baker as the power behind the throne. And the Newton Baker of today, a favorite of conservative business interests, is a very different person from the man with the same name who a quarter of a century ago stood beside Tom L. Johnson.

In Indiana the dominant figure in the party was for many years Tom Taggart, the proprietor of French Lick and an extremely practical politician. The Taggart tradition is strong even now, and his son is indeed one of the most important figures in the party. Perhaps the most active of the Indiana Democrats is Paul V. McNutt, former head of the American Legion and an ardent chauvinist and Big Army and Navy advocate.

The Illinois Democracy is under the control of Mayor Anton Cermak of Chicago, a political boss of the type of his predecessors, Roger Sullivan and George Brennan. While Mayor Cermak has been wise enough to attach to the party some honest and thoroughly respectable leaders, such as Judge Henry Horner, who is his candidate for governor, the mass of the party is led by rough ward leaders of the type of "Hinky-Dink" Kenna, "Bathhouse John" Coughlin, Moe Rosenberg, Jacob Arvey, Stanley Kunz, and Tim Crowe, the convicted ex-head of the Sanitary Board under whose direction the public monies were shamefully wasted by that body. Moreover, while the dominance of Roger Sullivan within the party was formerly disputed by a group of honest and progressive Democrats of the stamp of Ex-Mayor Carter Harrison and former Governor Dunne, this opposition has melted away in recent years and Mayor Cermak is now supreme save for the hostility of such leaders as Michael Igoe and William D. Meyering, whose records are little more reassuring than that of Cermak himself. The Kansas City machine, which is similar to those of New York and Chicago, is in the complete control of Thomas Prendergast.

SUCH, then, are the political groups which dominate the Democratic Party in the Northern industrial states. In addition to the professionals, however, the business interests have been wise enough to see to it that a number of their group should act in the capacity of financial "angels" to the Democrats, so that no action adverse to them may be taken should the latter be victorious. This has been a type of insurance policy whereby the business men fully protect themselves against any contingency. A similar policy is said to be pursued by wealthy families in central and eastern Europe who are careful to have their members in dominant positions in all of the so-called bourgeois parties.

While naturally not as many of the monied groups are Democrats as are Republicans, there is still an adequate quota to obtain their ends. In the East Owen D. Young, Thomas L. Chadbourne, Bernard M. Baruch, James W. Gerard, Henry Morgenthau, John J. Raskob, and Vincent Astor help to keep the party safe, while in the Middle-West Melvin Traylor, Edward N. Hurley and Evans Woolen have a similar influence. The same interests which contribute to the Republican Party are frequently found contributing smaller sums to the Democrats in order to play safe. Thus at the same time that Samuel Insull was contributing $125,000 to the senatorial campaign fund of Frank L. Smith, who as the chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission was supposedly regulating Mr. Insull's utilities, he was also giving $15,000 to George Brennan, the Democratic opponent of Colonel Smith. When questioned by Senator Reed about this gift, Mr. Insull replied, "Certainly, I gave $15,000 to my friend George Brennan, and I feel a bit ashamed that it was not more."

The Democratic Party, therefore, is an expert practitioner of what Oscar Ameringer has defined as the art of old party politics, namely, that of soliciting votes from the poor and money from the rich on the pretext of protecting each from the other. With the control of the party so thoroughly in the hands of the groups which have been mentioned, it is futile to expect any real reform from it. This has been evidenced on countless occasions but particularly so in the last few

years. Thus while the Democrats are now denouncing the effects of the Smoot-Hawley-Grundy tariff, they played a very large part in making it what it is. Many of their Senators helped to get specific protective duties into the bill and helped to prevent other duties from being lowered. In this process of log-rolling even the so-called progressive Senator Dill of Washington played a leading part. More recently, Democratic Senators like Barkley of Kentucky and Walsh of Montana have been active in getting higher duties on coal, oil, copper and lumber. Similarly, no less than 21 Democratic Senators voted against the Costigan-La Follette bill for federal aid for the unemployed, and among this number was Black of Alabama, who has progressive pretensions. The Democratic leaders of both houses, including Speaker Garner and Senator Robinson, coöperated, moreover, with the Administration forces during the last session of Congress in trying to put over the sales tax in an effort to throw the burden of the federal deficit upon the lower rather than upon the higher economic classes.

This is the aggregation which is now running Franklin Roosevelt for the presidency. I happen to be one who has a genuine liking for Governor Roosevelt because of his power program and his advocacy of unemployment insurance. Although he moved belatedly against the corruption which Seabury disclosed, his handling of the Walker trial was dignified and fair and yet searching and insistent. But one man, even a President, can not clean up the Democratic Party. If Woodrow Wilson could not accomplish it, there is small hope that Franklin Roosevelt will be able to do so. Governor Roosevelt's temperament and record indicate indeed that he will not seriously try. He will deal with the organizations and with those who hold power and will not break with them unless matters become so openly scandalous that he will be forced in order to preserve his honor and self-respect to disassociate himself from them. But such a situation as this can in practice be nearly always prevented. The breakdown of our economic system calls for someone more than a Tilden, a Cleveland or even a Woodrow Wilson. It calls for a determined and intelligent philosophy of government which is almost totally lacking among the Democrats.

Those, therefore, who vote for the Democrats at the coming election will really be voting to perpetuate a contradictory symbol. One can detect some social usefulness on the part of the Republicans in their maintainance of the conservative point of view. We need one conservative party, but we do not need and should not long endure having two such parties. The Democratic Party is the chief obstacle in the way of a third party of the farmers, wage-earners and white-collared workers developing on American soil, and its destruction would be one of the best things that could happen in our political life.

If You Had Asked Me

IF you had asked me
I could not have said
Which is the greater,
Beauty or bread.

For he who has sweet bread
All the day long
Is never troubled
By beauty's song.

And he will go happily
Even in rain
And never feel wonder
Or know any pain.

But those who love beauty
Will suffer alone
Hurt to their heart's core
By a small grey stone.

And they will see wonders
Under the skies
Were never seen
By other eyes.

If you had asked me
I could not have said
Which is the greater,
Beauty or bread.

DUNCAN EMRICH

The Second Time*

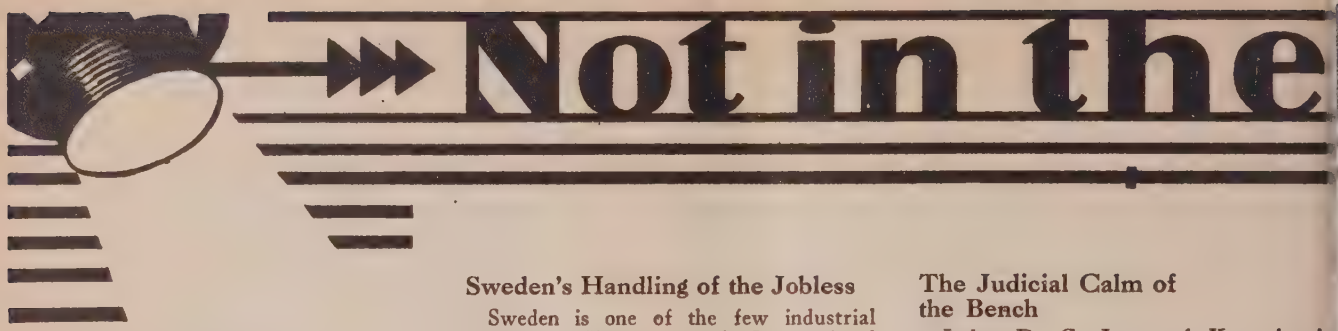
HE asked for bread:
'Twas stones we gave.
His soul unfed,
His body dead
We cannot save.

Not twice is doled
That mocking dearth
By us who hold
As bought and sold
The God-given earth.

O unjust, hear
The muttering dread!
O merciless, fear!
His sons will tear
Our flesh for bread!

ALICE THACHER POST

*Written in March, 1895.



Vermont Labor Endorses S. P.

The State Federation of Labor of Vermont has endorsed the complete national and state Socialist tickets. Fred Suitor, president of the Quarry Workers' International Union, is the Socialist candidate for governor.

Picketing Militarism

Though neither a centennial nor a sesqui-centennial anniversary, the War Department could not allow its 147th birthday to pass without a celebration. In Bryant Park, New York City, it has just been commemorated by a military exhibit and display. Unwilling to see this type of propaganda go unchallenged, the summer committee of the War Resisters' League laid its own plans also, and when the military show began, were on hand to undertake a picketing campaign in order to protest. Though the authorities showed considerable zest in finding excuses to prohibit the picketing, which was organized by Winston Dancis with the coöperation of the American Civil Liberties Union, they were unsuccessful and the picketing went on.

New Zealand's Labor Problems

New Zealand has long been known for its comparatively high standards of living and working conditions. But it has been suffering worse than some other regions as the depression has deepened. The leading trade unions of the country have held a united congress, and have agreed to work for the following aims: unification of the movement by formation of a national union in every industry, these to be comprehended in a national center; energetic opposition to all attempts of employers or the government to institute wage cuts; fight against reduction of the home market by any decrease in the masses' purchasing power; inauguration of a national unemployment council made up of equal representation by labor and employers; large estates to be taken over by the government for settlement by jobless workers; huge program of national emergency public works; shorter working time; organization of the unemployed into a large National Union of Unemployed Workers, to be controlled jointly by the national industrial organizations and the unemployed workers, with local district unions.

Sweden's Handling of the Jobless

Sweden is one of the few industrial countries of Europe, says the International Federation of Trade Unions, in which there is no general unemployment insurance. Unemployed persons are supported by the grant of a yearly sum by the parliament, for the carrying out of relief work in aid of unemployed persons without means and in similar forms of relief. A large number are employed in relief work; about 98,000 workers were registered as having applied for aid at the end of June, while 30,000 were employed in relief work. A movement to reduce both the amount of aid to those without means and the amount paid in wages to unemployed relief workers has been strenuously opposed by civic and labor organizations, and the government has at least been compelled to announce a reconsideration of its proposals.

Hawaiian Conditions Better Than Here

Despite the barrage of propaganda recently directed by naval officials against governmental conditions in Hawaii, conditions there are better than in the United States proper, according to a report made public by William A. DuPuy, Executive Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, who returned early in September from a trip through the Islands. "Financially the Islands probably are less affected by the depression than any state in the Union," he said, adding that law enforcement is well administered and racial relations generally harmonious. "One of the pleasing aspects of the social conditions in the Territory of Hawaii," asserted Mr. DuPuy, "is the absence of race prejudice. There is no problem of racial feeling. Crime is not alarming and the administration of justice appears adequate. . . . Reports throughout the United States of race prejudice and a hysteria of crime in the Islands during the last year are exaggerated and have been an embarrassment to the people of the Territory."

Ten Cents Per Hour

Levee workers in flood-control camps financed by the Federal Government along the Mississippi River are being paid 10 cents per hour, and toil 12 hours daily, seven days per week, according to a report issued by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Moreover, prices at camp commissaries are exorbitantly high.

The Judicial Calm of the Bench

Judge D. C. Jones of Kentucky is quoted by the *Harlan Daily Enterprise* as saying in an address to a jury: "This court is not an employment agency, paying you three dollars a day to sit here and turn criminals free. It's your business and responsibility to discharge your duty with guts and backbone. . . . If you jurors can't do your duty courageously, I'll send you home and get jurors who will. Put the fear of God into the criminals."

Death and Profits

Pacifist papers are just now recording the sentiment of various important newspapers concerning the possibility of Japanese-Chinese war. The leading newspaper of the Norwegian conservatives declared as follows: "Will there be a war in the Far East? It may sound brutal, but for business reasons such a war would be very desirable. It would increase the demand for ship tonnage, insurance rates would rise, and prices would begin to mount. This would mean a great development for foreign commerce for all neutral countries and many orders for industry. The entire world is following the developments in Manchuria with the greatest interest. If war is not declared, the world will wait a long time before a change comes in a natural way."

Another Academic Lynching

After Commencement Day in June Professor John C. Granbery received notice from the Board of Directors of the Texas Technological College at Lubbock that his contract would not be renewed and that he must forthwith find another position. Professor Granbery's efforts to secure a satisfactory explanation for this arbitrary action were unavailing. About 185 students of the summer school signed a protest which declared, among other things: "Your explanation that Dr. Granbery was dismissed for the sake of economy questions either your judgment or your integrity. It is unthinkable that economy should begin by discharging Tech's foremost scholar." A correspondent informs us that altogether fifteen members of the faculty have been dismissed in an endeavor to weed out all traces of liberalism. A liberal student minister, the Reverend Brander J. Moore, was likewise discharged. Space is at such a premium on the campus that the student Y.M.C.A. was deprived of its office, and its alert secretary, Jack Boyd, was dropped.

Headlines

Birth Control in Africa

Birth Control News reports that the first birth control clinic in Africa has been opened at Cape Town. The clinic is intended chiefly for the poorer population irrespective of creed, color, and race.

Peace Armies

The work begun about ten years ago by Pierre Cérésole substituting voluntary aid in disasters for military service is going steadily onward. Whenever a natural disaster occurs, the members of this army of peace hasten to the scene and offer their services to the distressed without charge. The group now proposes that all friends of peace contribute one per cent of their income in order to carry on this work, which is conceived of definitely as in opposition to military training.

Wages Dropping Faster Than Prices

The purchasing power of the contents of the average weekly pay envelope in manufacturing industry has declined 27.3 per cent in the three years between June, 1929, and June, 1932. This percentage means that real weekly earnings have declined to that extent. That the decline was not much larger is due to the decrease in the cost of living of wage-earners, which, while it has not kept pace with the drop in earnings, has in the three years noted amounted to 22.3 per cent, according to the investigations of the National Industrial Conference Board, an organization of employers.

Our Readers and International Peace Correspondence

Karl Heinz Spalt, president of International Correspondence for Peace, reports that in response to the appeal for world-wide exchanges of correspondence published in a recent issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW, a considerable number of correspondents were secured in the United States, many of whom have expressed great satisfaction at the results of their letter-writing with peace workers in foreign countries. He announces that 45 Germans are still hoping to be assigned to American correspondents, and hopes that those among our readers who are interested but who have not hitherto taken up international correspondence for peace, will write to him at 6, Wilhelm-Glässing-strasse, Darmstadt, Germany. Of the 45 Germans mentioned, 35 can read and write in English.

Nine Out of 27

Only nine of the higher officials in the "independent" state of Manchukuo are Chinese, the other 18 being Japanese, according to a list published by the *Chinese Weekly Review*.

Anti-Injunction Law Upheld

The provisions of the Norris-La Guardia Anti-injunction Law, which has been hailed as a tremendous gain for organized labor, has been upheld by a decision of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

Twelve Times the War Debts

The total volume of indebtedness within the United States is estimated by Dr. Lionel D. Edie at approximately 150 billion dollars, or more than 12 times the war debts due this country. Even at the low rate of four per cent, the interest charge on this sum reaches the stupendous figure of six billions annually.

Another Blessing of Competition

World's Work recently quoted figures compiled by Glen B. Winship showing that one billion dollars is invested in superfluous filling stations in the United States. In a town-by-town survey it was found that there are 111,594 useless stations, or 71 per cent of the nation's total. Duplication of such facilities is costing the petroleum industry 455 million dollars annually, about four per cent on its investment, and the motoring public two cents on every gallon of gasoline it buys.

Labor in China

The Labor Department of the Chinese Ministry of Industry recently announced the program of work for the department. Some of the more important items on this program are: investigation of labor conditions; continuation of the reorganization and registration of trade unions; establishment of machinery for the settlement of labor disputes; promotion of the establishment of the factory council system; division of factory inspection areas; encouragement of workers' education; drafting of regulations for workers' savings banks; application of the law relating to collective agreements; participation in the International Labor Conference; revision of labor laws; study of industrial efficiency and its problems; compilation of labor statistics; and publication of a monthly labor review.

The Hunger Blockade

The village of Eisenschmitt, in Germany, has not a single child to be confirmed this year because all the children who would now have been of age died in the hunger blockade of 1917-18. The village decided that in this year all the adults who had been confirmed fifty years previously shall assemble instead of the children.

Textile Workers Union Neutral

Unlike the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, which has endorsed the candidacy of Thomas and Maurer, the United Textile Workers of America, of which the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers is a constituent body, has refused to take a definite stand as a unit in the election. Following a sharp debate over resolutions endorsing Roosevelt and Thomas respectively, it was voted to remain neutral, allowing members to vote as they please without official pressure. No one suggested endorsing President Hoover.

The Game of War Goes On

Reports gathered from many countries by the International Anti-militaristic Commission show that the building up of war machinery goes ahead generally, despite talk of disarmament, although there has been retrenchment in certain quarters. Belgium's huge system of fortifications is proceeding slowly, plans long held in suspension recently having changed into actual operations; a large defense work near Battice to cover the main roads between Liege and Aachen is under construction, and others are soon to be commenced in reinforcement of the new forts along this part of the eastern frontier. In Denmark there has been a reduction of 6,000,000 crowns in the army estimates. Finland, which has been suffering a steady decrease in the birth rate of boys, the number of cannon-fodder falling from 47,000 in the year prior to the World War to 39,300 at present, is exercising her reserves from 40 to 60 days per year, whereas formerly they were rarely called out. France is reported to be building a large number of small forts near the Lotharingian frontier, one for each kilometre. New tanks are being put in use by Holland, with a maximum speed of 45 kilometres per hour and with a weight of 3,500 kilograms; a new cruiser also has been ordered and will be constructed at Rotterdam.

Labor's Left-Wing Vanguard

A. J. MUSTE

JOE BROOKS was speaking at the convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action recently held in New York City. Brooks has been a railroad worker and for the past 25 years or so a Paterson silk worker. He is a battle-scarred veteran of the labor struggle in that city and universally admitted to be a "straight-shooter" in the town where many labor reputations have been brilliantly won and as ignominiously lost. Someone had said on the convention floor that the C.P.L.A. ought not to be another working-class party since there were already enough of them available, "the Socialist party for those who want a reformist organization, and the Communist for those who want a revolutionary one."

Brooks rose (I must omit some of his choice expletives in reporting him) and said: "You say you have a labor party. You have not. What you have got is a lot of societies which call themselves parties but have no political power. Back in 1912 working-class parties polled over six percent of the total vote in this country. By 1928 they had progressed to the point where they were polling less than one percent. I want to tell you a little of my own experience with these parties. Back so far you can hardly remember some one comes along and says: 'The Republicans and Democrats are no good, join the party of the working class.' So the workers join the Socialist Party. A few months later the same agitator is back, and the worker who so eagerly joined the S. P. a short time before says to him: 'I sure am glad I joined the Party.' The agitator asks: 'What party?' 'The Socialist Party, of course,' the worker answers. The agitator throws up his hands in horror and says: 'That party is no good, join the Socialist Labor Party.'

"So the worker bounces out of the S. P. into the S. L. P. A little later he has bounced into the I. W. W. In a few weeks that is no good and he has to bounce out of that and into the W. I. I. U. Finally, after the War, come the Communists proclaiming that salvation will absolutely come through them and through no others. So the worker bounces into the Communists. A few months later he meets the leader who persuaded him to join the party and remarks, 'Now I'm sure that I am in the true revolutionary party at last'; whereupon the leader says: 'What party do you mean?' The worker answers: 'The Communist party, of course.' The leader replies: 'Which faction?'

"So when Budenz and others of the C. P. L. A. came into Paterson I said to myself, 'What's this, another bunch of white-robed saviours of the working class, with a party to bounce into and out of?' It turned out different. These C. P. L. A. people went on the picket line with us. They went to jail with us. They took it on the chin with the rank and file worker, instead of getting us to do the dirty work alone. They went to shop meetings and didn't confine themselves to grand speeches from the platform at mass meetings. They didn't indulge in throwing mud at other parties or groups. When the strike was over, instead of getting out of Paterson, as all our other saviours had done, they stuck there. The C. P. L. A. is still there a year after the strike is over. If it will go ahead along the lines that it has followed during the past year, stay by the workers, work with us, talk to us in our language, it will be all right."

THOSE remarks of a rank and file silk worker express about as well as any one brief speech could the underlying spirit, the emphasis, of the C. P. L. A. in its manifold activities. It was provisionally organized in 1929. Its first official convention, which adopted a constitution and by-laws and put the organization on a permanent basis, was held in New York City on September 3-5 of this year.

The C. P. L. A. is an organization which bands together militant workers from various industries and sections of the country in order that they may know each other, get training for real work in the labor struggle, plan and act together and not in a haphazard fashion. It is dedicated to the abolition of capitalism and the establishment in the United States of a planned economic order administered by the workers and "a workers' republic to be united in bonds of comradeship with workers' republics throughout the world."

It does not seek to commit the workers to any one method or type of activity in order to effect their emancipation. To quote from the preamble of the newly adopted constitution: "Effective working-class organization in the modern world consists not merely of militant industrial unions or farmers' unions or a labor political party or coöperative enterprises or educational agencies, but of all these fused into a living movement, advancing on all fronts toward its goal of a new society."

In the political field the C. P. L. A. believes in using so-called parliamentary methods and activities for all they may be worth. It is vigorously propagandizing for the building in the United States of a unified mass labor party in which existing political and theoretical groups, unions, farmer organizations, coöperatives and

other labor bodies may combine. It is not wedded, however, to any dogma of parliamentary or so-called democratic procedure. It believes that, above all, the movement of the working masses "must be imbued with the will and the courage to struggle." It is sceptical of the notion that all the labor struggle consists of forming a political party as capitalists have done, persuading more and more voters to vote the labor ticket, eventually getting a parliamentary majority and then voting a new economic order into existence.

WITH this basic aim of a new social order and this strategy of revolutionary realism, militants working in the C. P. L. A. take the American working class and the American scene as they are, convinced that while the labor movement must be international and Soviet Russia, for example, must be defended against its capitalist and imperialist enemies, the American section of the world labor movement must be built by American workers and rooted in American soil. No one can do the job for us here any more than we can do the job for the workers in some other country. The constitution provides that "Branches and members of the C. P. L. A. shall be in the vanguard of the struggle of the masses against their oppressors, giving leadership and aid in the building of militant unions among unorganized workers and farmers; organizing the unemployed; driving out bureaucracy, corruption and gangsterism where these have secured a hold in the economic organizations; winning the unions to progressive fighting policies; developing the political power of Labor; creating among the masses an anti-capitalist and distinctively labor outlook; promoting vigorously the solidarity and unity of Labor's forces."

The C. P. L. A. regards itself as a left-wing vanguard organization in the American labor movement not in the sense of a center "which works out blueprints for every situation throughout the land and then gives forth commandments which must be slavishly obeyed." Its role in the general labor movement is rather to educate, advise, guide and inspire. We have organized as such a left-wing vanguard because we believe that no existing political or theoretical group fills the bill. Criticisms leveled by the more vigorous elements in those parties and groups against their present policies and leadership are themselves proof that none of them, at least as now led and constituted, is a satisfactory and inspiring rallying center for responsible militant workers.

As for the Socialist Party, it does not even claim to be such a left-wing vanguard. Its membership is not confined to militant workers. It takes in heterogeneous elements, including even exploiters of labor, which the C. P. L. A. does not do. The Socialists' emphasis is to build up a political party within the structure of capitalism and political democracy, to gain votes, eventually achieve a majority and so to build a new economic order. We hold that this is putting the cart before the horse, and in an exceedingly dangerous fashion. The economic organizations and the economic struggle seem to us primary. Any working-class party worthy of the name must devote itself primarily to giving leadership and inspiration in these struggles. It must be built on or intimately related to the economic organizations and struggles. It must have a distinct line in the unions against bureaucracy, corruption and gangsterism, as the S. P. all too frequently has not had. Too often, in fact, in our desperate struggles by the side of rank and file workers in the unions to clean house, Socialist elements have been found either lukewarm and indifferent or definitely allied with reactionary elements. The party as a whole and particularly certain elements within the party are tied up with the Labor and Social Democratic parties in Europe, which during the post-War period have pursued the policy of putting "business" back on its feet first when the capitalist economy has been shaken, collaborating with middle-class parties and even sometimes with capitalist dictatorships in doing so and holding that when everything is steady again, the effort to put Socialist measures into effect may be made. Such a policy of passiveness, gradualism and collaboration, far from avoiding suffering or violence, brings untold misery upon the workers, misery which is utterly fruitless since all the time capitalism remains in power and makes certain that the masses will be plunged into the holocaust of a capitalist war.

LET me try to make certain that our position is thoroughly clear. We are not out to fight the Socialist Party, though we regard it as our right and duty to criticize certain of its policies. We are out to fight capitalism. We want to work with the Socialist Party and with elements in that party, as well as with all kinds of other groups, in strikes, organizing campaigns, work among the unemployed, building a genuine mass labor party and so on. Workers, we believe, are tired of the bickerings and divisions and the babel of voices coming from progressive and radical ranks. They want a movement toward unity—not on paper and in theory, but in action. We do not pretend that the mass labor party which we seek would immediately have a more radical platform on all points than the Socialist Party. It is quite likely that on many points its platform would be more elementary. We simply hold that an organization which contains such elements as Hillquit not only in its membership but at the head of its national executive committee (and we see no convincing evidence that such elements will not continue within the party) is not a left-wing organization. We do not believe that it makes any claim to be such.

The Communists certainly do seek to be such a force, and their membership, exclusive of *agents provocateurs,*

is composed of genuine militants. Their connection with the U. S. S. R., moreover, gives them a certain prestige which counts heavily. They have tackled many tough jobs in the labor struggle in the United States with tremendous courage and at great cost. Nevertheless, the present policy of the Communist Party in this country of systematically building "dual unions," which are not real unions or mass organizations, because they are sectarian bodies completely under the control of the party (a New York needle-trade worker recently wrote the constitution for a steel workers' organization); of destroying existing unions and other working-class organizations by methods of trickery and violence, which they often hesitate to use against capitalistic organizations themselves; of opposition to a mass labor party; of neglecting the elementary task of building functioning industrial unions in the basic industries in the United States—this policy is counter-revoluntionary in its effect, regardless of what its motive may be. Workers who possess no organizations, and who, as is the case with American workers, are not yet advanced enough to join unions to deal with the problems under their very eyes and are still voting the Democratic or Republican ticket, will not in a serious crisis follow a handful of radicals to the barricades. They will be material made to order for fascism and will help the powers-that-be to wipe out the last vestige of radicalism. Certainly thousands of American workers today who want to work in a fighting movement cannot and will not join the Communists.

TO fill, then, this crying need of "an effective and satisfactory vanguard for American labor" the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has been orized. Already it has a record of real achievement. The movement which for the past three years has stimulated and helped the insurgent movement against the Lewis regime in the United Mine Workers (sometimes being the only force to keep that insurgency alive); which helped to build the West Virginia Mine Workers Union and the Independent Labor Party of West Virginia; which has kept alive the memory of the Marion martyrs of 1929, building the Southern Industrial League and the Progressive Farmers League in North Carolina, gradually laying the foundations of a sound textile organization in the South and now furnishing help and leadership in the High Point and other strike areas; which has built a sane but militant opposition in the Hosiery Workers' Union; which has stimulated the progressives in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and at the same time formed units of the Brotherhood of the Mills among workers to whom the present regime in the A.A. pays no attention; which has helped the campaign among the Edison employees in New York, effected the amalgation of the Paterson Silk Unions, assisted in the leadership of the Paterson General Strike of 1931, kept the union fighting in the face o an unprecedented depression, and stimulated the build ing of an autonomous National Federation of Sil Workers within the U. T. W.; which has assisted op position groups in many unions in campaigns agains bureaucracy, racketeering and gangsterism, such as th notable campaign in Local 3 of the Electrical Worker in New York and has already, at least for the tim being, restored numerous rights to the membership which has kept in the forefront the idea of a mas labor party; and which through its national organiza tion, branches or members has been wholly or largely responsible for the organization of Unemployed Citizens Leagues in Seattle, Tacoma, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, Allentown, Philadelphia, Kanawha Valley, West Virginia; Belmont County, Ohio; McDowell County North Carolina, and many other places—such a movement has certainly already justified its existence!

These and other activities will now be pushed with greater vigor and determination. It is expected that before the first of the year a weekly paper to be named "Labor Action" will be published. *Labor Age* will continue as a monthly or bi-monthly organ. An attempt will be made to develop a unified labor campaign for the release of Tom Mooney. The fight against racketeering and allied evils in the unions will be pressed, including the sending of a committee to deal with the matter to the A. F. of L. convention in Cincinnati in November. A trade union committee to work out the technique of insuring the rights of minorities in unions will be launched. Plans are being discussed for a national clearing house for Unemployed Citizens Leagues, to give them information about methods which have proved successful in various parts of the country. The organizing work in textiles and steel will be vigorously pressed, as will coöperation with the miners in Illinois, West Virginia and other states in building the Progressive Miners' Union on a national scale.

We call upon all working-class organizations, whether they can subscribe to our full program or not, to coöperate with us in the many labor activities where coöperation is possible and desperately needed. We are not out to hamper or destroy other labor organizations, but to develop more coöperation among them.

We appeal to workers, farmers, intellectuals, sympathizers with the labor movement, even if they cannot join us, to give us and our activities the utmost moral and financial support. No activities for the building of a new and sane social order, political or otherwise, will avail unless a realistic fighting, intelligent labor movement is developed in this country.

Above all, we invite all militant workers, industrial, agricultural, clerical, domestic, technical or professional, regardless of their previous affiliations, to join us in the tremendous task which we have undertaken. The C. P. L. A. is on the march.

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

Across the Rhine

The Civilization of France. By Ernst Robert Curtius. The Macmillan Co. $3.50.

Who Are These French? By Friedrich Sieburg. The Macmillan Co. $2.50.

The Germans. By George N. Shuster. Lincoln MacVeagh (Dial Press). $3.00.

Is Germany Finished? By Pierre Vienot. The Macmillan Co. $1.25.

WITH the increased strength of the Hitlerites in Germany and the ascension of Herriot to power in France good books on the current situation in France and Germany are more than ever timely and important. Those under review live up to the responsibility in splendid fashion. It is interesting and promising to find two Germans writing in sympathetic fashion of French history and civilization and a Frenchman capable of approaching German problems without high blood pressure.

The late Professor Wilhelm Dibelius of the University of Berlin produced shortly before his death a model study of the history and institutions of a foreign state in his classic work on England. In his interpretative survey, *The Civilization of France,* Professor Curtius of the University of Bonn follows the pattern laid down by Dibelius. There is relatively little attention paid to conventional episodes in French history, the space being reserved for a penetrating and appreciative study of the evolution of French culture. If there is no Teutonic animus in this work, neither is there any mushy sentimentalizing about "La Belle France." He seizes on what is important and handles his material in clear and masterly fashion. The contribution of France to thought and aesthetics are especially stressed.

While Professor Curtius provides us with the proper historical background with which to approach the study of contemporary France, Dr. Sieburg supplies just that interpretation of France today which we need to appraise her place in world civilization. He was long the Paris correspondent of the *Frankfurter-Zeitung* and knows his France. On the cultural side Dr. Sieburg has little but good to say for France. Her contributions to life and civilization he holds to be priceless gems. France has resolutely refused to be enslaved by the twin evils of modern civilization—the worship of pecuniary profits and the dominion of puritanical ethics. She has declined to be standardized and mechanized or to make a god out of modern business enterprise. Dr. Sieburg fails, perhaps, to emphasize enough the fact that France is not, however, lacking in devotion to a very lusty sense of thrift and acquisition.

In the field of international relations Dr. Sieburg finds more to criticize in the conduct of France. Here he holds that she is a dangerous nuisance blocking the road to peace, world unity and good will. France has been devoted to Gallic Victory rather than to World Solidarity. If she cannot divest herself of this shortsighted outlook she is likely to wreck the modern world and carry herself down in the general ruin. Many observers not unfriendly to France have come to much the same conclusion as Dr. Sieburg.

George N. Shuster is one of the editors of the *Commonweal,* a very capable journalist and a well-informed writer of things German. *The Germans* is the most adequate and best digested survey of post-War Germany which has appeared in English. It is rivaled only by the vivid book of Mr. Knickerbocker, and the latter volume has no such breadth of conception and perspective.

Mr. Shuster sketches the historical background of contemporary Germany, analyzes the problems which she has to face as a result of the War and the peace treaties, and gives a sympathetic estimate of leading aspects of German culture, society and politics. He is particularly to be commended for not trying to reduce German civilization to any single formula. He sees clearly the enormous divergencies and immense variety in German culture and political currents, and organizes his material accordingly. Mr. Shuster does not deal in particular detail with the question of Germany and war responsibility, but his judgment on matters which touch vitally on this subject proves that he has deeply informed himself and is devoid of any credence of the Entente thesis of German depravity.

If Herr Sieburg can write intelligently about France, a Frenchman, M. Vienot, shows equal ability to deal sanely with Germany. Books like his should promote some intelligent reaction towards Germany in France. The author has spent many years in Germany as a professional student of that country's politics and culture. He portrays the devastating effects of the French revenge policy upon Germany and indicates clearly its menacing indirect import for France herself. M. Vienot makes it plain enough for anybody save a diplomat or politician that enlightened self-interest on the part of France dictates a policy of live and let live.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Looking Toward the Manchurian Crisis

Boycotts and Peace. Edited by Evans Clark. Harper and Brothers. $4.00.

AT the outset let the fact be recorded that this is an extremely important volume and quite indispensable to all persons who are seeking ways of dealing effectively with the crucial situation in Manchuria. It was prepared under the direction of the Committee on Economic Sanctions, of which President Butler is chairman. In addition to the committee's report, the book contains research findings on legal, political, military, and economic aspects of the boycott, with supplementary chapters on the resources of Japan, Italy, Germany and other nations.

The committee's conclusions repudiate the blockade, or the complete boycott, or the imposition of a boycott by a single nation on its own initiative, and recommend "a cessation of any shipment of arms or munitions or other absolute contraband; and such further economic sanctions and concerted measures, short of the use of

force, as may be determined to be appropriate and practical under the circumstances of any given case"—that is, a partial embargo to be determined by international conference.

A significant chapter considers the arguments against American action, including the difficulty of determining the aggressor, the sufficiency of aroused public opinion, the adequacy of the plighted word of signatories to the Pact of Paris and the possibility of provoking war. Another section presents data concerning the effectiveness of an embargo. In the case of Japan, raw silk constitutes about 40 per cent of all exports, and 95 per cent of her export of silk is to the United States. Japan in turn buys nearly half of her cotton, her most important import, from the United States. Thus it is apparent that an embargo against the exportation of silk and the importation of cotton would prove to be extremely serious to Japan. On the other hand, more than 90 per cent of her food is produced within Japan proper, Korea, and Formosa. An embargo against silk and cotton, therefore, would not necessarily cause starvation. It would bring terrific economic pressure to bear upon the government and would necessitate public aid to employees thrown out of work in the industries affected.

The reviewer desires to place the utmost possible emphasis upon the significance of this book. It deals with a problem which vitally concerns the peace of the world, and whether or not war on a terrifying scale is to convulse the cock-pit of Asia may be determined by the response of the United States and the League to the principles and procedures so illuminatingly interpreted in this volume.

K. P.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Peace Army at Hendon

MILITARY Tattoos, Navy Weeks and such were already popular in England when the Royal Air Force decided to organize a demonstration at the Hendon Aerodrome, where the skill and daring of the flying man, as well as the latest and most powerful types of plane, could be appreciated by the people. A mid-summer Saturday has been set aside each year for this demonstration ever since. It is tremendously popular, and no wonder, seeing that it is cheap; that it happens never to rain on that Saturday; that the show lasts all day, and that it takes place out of doors and therefore affords a satisfactory family outing.

Six years ago, while Rosa Hobhouse was having lunch with us at Children's House, she said, "The Royal Air Force Demonstration takes place this afternoon. I feel as though someone should go to it and make a protest in the name of Christ, just as Telemachus left his mountain cave and swooped down on Rome. Do you remember how he took his seat in the Coliseum and in the middle of the program stood up and called upon the spectators to realize the cruelty of the gladiatorial games? He was torn limb from limb, but it stopped the barbarous practice of making a sport of killing."

Each year since then a number of us have gone to Hendon to give our witness, men and women, girls and boys, ex-officers and teachers, ministers and mothers, factory girls and unemployed. We parade the streets leading to the aerodrome, carrying specially prepared posters. We go inside, mix with the crowd and challenge them to think out what lies behind the brilliant spectacle. We are careful always to get *en rapport* with our audience by paying a tribute at once to the skill, courage and initiative of our airmen. We glory in flying as much as any one; it is the practice of it for killing that we attack. After the show is over we distribute some hundred thousand pamphlets specially written for the occasion. A very narrow neck of road runs from the aerodrome gates to the railway station. It takes hours to get several hundred thousand spectators off by train; their progress on foot along this short bit of road is at the pace of the proverbial snail.

Then we start open air meetings. We mount a natural rostrum under some trees that look down on the road. Here we have the great satisfaction of knowing that our audience *cannot* get away. They have to hear; and most of them listen. We appeal to them in the name of God who made of one blood all nations under heaven. We ask them not to confuse this delightful show with the reality of air warfare. We ask them to use their imaginations. We remind them that throughout the ages humanity beings for many thousands of years have looked on the air as a blessing, an inspiration and a joy; fresh air, sunshine, blue sky all entirely beneficent things. Yet now that mankind has at last attained its conquest, the first thing he does with it is to utilize it for furthering the art of killing. We tell them of the dangerous effect such shows have on the child mind, how we observed our own Nursery School children one year as they stood, little things of three and four, craning their necks to watch the passage of the giant planes above their heads, across the sky towards Hendon. When the last one had passed out of sight, the eldest child turned round to the others and said, "That's what I'll be when I grow up. I'll go up into the air and drop bombs on the rest of you."

At the demonstration this June, 450 members of the Peace Army were giving their witness. This aroused a tremendous amount of interest for it was their first appearance in the public eye. The Peace Army was created by the most beloved and outstanding leaders of Christian thought and practice in our country, Dick Sheppard, Herbert Gray, Maude Royden and Canon Raven.

The Peace Army is a body of men and women who have volunteered for active service in the cause of peace. It is organized in two sections. Members of Section I have promised to place themselves unarmed between the combatants in the event of war by whatever means may be found possible. They are the "Shock Troops" of Peace. Those who join Section One should realize that they are not being asked to make a gesture or to state what they are prepared to do in a remote contingency, but to make a very definite promise which they may easily be called upon to fulfil. Members of Section Two promise to render constructive peace service wherever it may be needed, at home or abroad, and to help in sending others where they cannot go themselves.

Let us give people some vision of the place which might be taken in national and international life by a Peace Army disciplined and trained for service. Let us make them realize that the Peace Army is planning the most effective measures yet known to end war and at the same time building up one feature of that world at peace of which we know at present so little, namely, internationalism.

London, England. MURIEL LESTER.

OPPOSED TO MILITARY DRILL in schools? Do you know conscientious students desiring exemption? For suggestions and literature write George A. Coe, Chairman, or Tucker P. Smith, Secretary,

Committee on Militarism in Education
Bible House **New York City**

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Progress at Commonwealth

COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE, the labor school near Mena, Arkansas, will open its fall quarter October 3 with n enrollment approximately three times that of last fall. Com- onwealth is interested in enrolling young men and women who ave first hand knowledge of poverty and anxiety and who de- re above everything else to work for an improved social order.)uring its year of rapid growth the school has added many im- rovements, including a print shop, a deep well, a second-hand ruck, a much-needed team of mules, and an electric power plant.

Rand School Opens

THE Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, announces that its new year commences on Septem- er 19. In two respects the School will expand its work this ear. A correspondence course in Socialism will be offered to roups of six or more anywhere in the United States or Canada. lready there have been many requests for such a course, and it s hoped that, beginning immediately after the election, practically very Socialist local in the country will have a group of students t work. The Workers' Theatre will be continued, and to this ffort in the field of workers' culture will be added a course in rawing and painting and a chorus for revolutionary singing. All ho are interested are requested to write for the bulletin.

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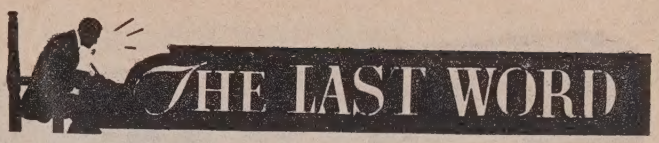


IT may not be an omen, but thirteen persons write in every week to the Chicago Republican headquarters to suggest a winning slogan for the campaign. Mr. William H. McMasters, who coined the celebrated phrase, *Keep Cool With Coolidge,* wants the G. O. P. to come out and cheer us all up: *It's Over; Thank Hoover*—by which he means that the depression belongs to the past and therefore Hoover should belong to the future. At least, that's what some people say he means; but others insist he is secretly referring to Republican rule. Most of these efforts fairly compel you to go on and round them off. For instance, *Don't Rock the Boat—(Hoover's Down Below and Can't Be Hit).* Or, *Don't Drop the Pilot Now—(Wait for Mid-Ocean).* Or, again, *We're Headed for Prosperity With Hoover —(Does It Make You Ill to Ride Backwards?).* I like *Smile With Hoover—(If It Kills You Both).* Or, especially *Hoover Will Pull Us Through (And Through).* Better still, however, in my personal estimation, is my own suggestion, short and snappy: *Hunger On With Herbert.*

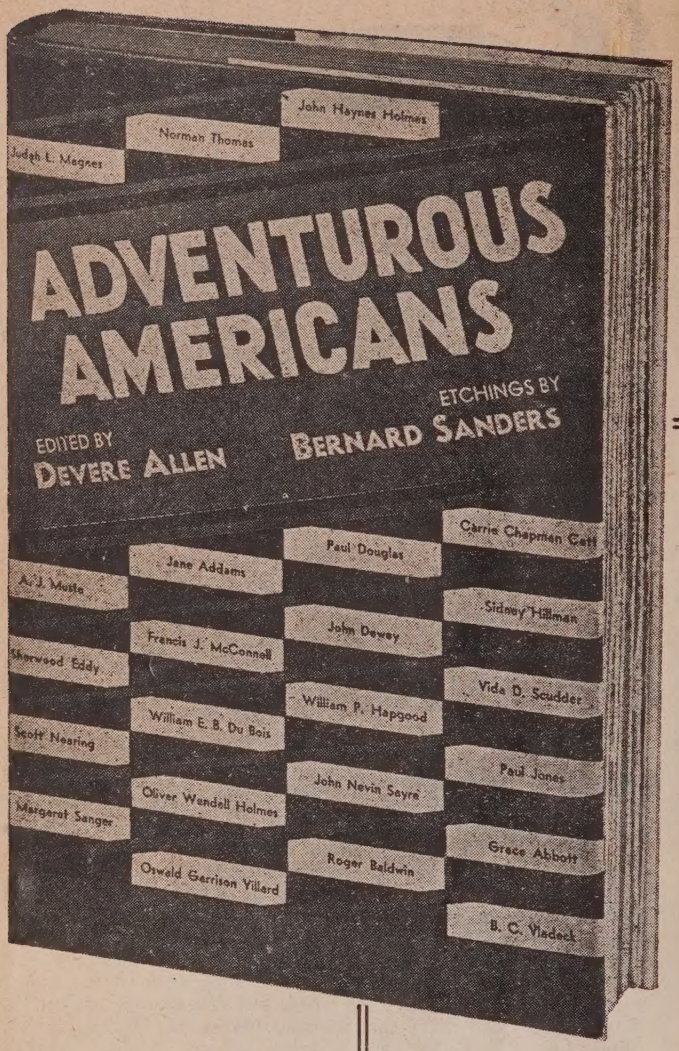
ONE of the current fallacies is the fancied influence that books have in forming children's characters. Mr. Coolidge avers, in the erudite columns of the October *Cosmopolitan,* that the people he knew in Vermont as a boy were interested in the past, so he turned to history and biography. I can readily understand his interest in the past. But he attributes his sturdy whatnot, his unbending this-or-that, and his unfailing devotion to something-or-other to a brief list of works, among which I find *Choice Poems and Lyrics*—explaining not at all the former President's reputed liking for the classical achievements of Eddie Guest. Supposedly the valorous nature of Northampton's chief columnist rests back upon *The Green Mountain Boys, The Rangers—or The Tory's Daughter, The Sixth Reader,* and *History of the Indian Wars.*

Well, it may be so. But Eccentricus can recall with distinct exactness the stories he liked best and the series he followed most eagerly. One was *Young Wild West;* another, *Jack Diamond;* another, *Nick Carter;* nor did he ever fail *Fred Fearnot* or *Frank Merriwell.* He remembers elderly remonstrances over such impossible themes as *Jack Reade and His Cruiser of the Air. Buffalo Bill* vied with the anaemic heroes of Horatio Alger, Oliver Optic, E. P. Roe, and Charles Garvice. Kipling, Edward Eggleston, all the old-timers, came in for a tolerant but somewhat patronizing reading; *The Story of a Bad Boy* was O. K., but disappointingly failed to justify its title. No, indeed! Who can convince me that this course of character-building has any responsibility for my present well-known so-and-so, my sterling whatsis?

I shall not soon forget how two youthful ladies of my acquaintance found on a shelf one day a popularized Story of the Bible, written many years ago for children. The older, aged nine, read sections of it aloud for many hours. That afternoon Eccentricus returned to find one inhabiting a miniature bathtub while the other was pouring over her what was—fortunately—an imaginary pail of scalding water, paying no attention to the victim's realistic shrieks of pain. "What's the Big Idea," I asked, in some astonishment; "why all the horrible torture?" "I'm being punished for wickedness!" cried the unrepentant victim, "but I don't get better at all! We got a lot of wunnerful ideas today —outa your old Bible book!"

Yes, it was pretty awful. Still, I've decided, where the young are concerned, about one thing to be very careful. And that is, not to be careful in the least. Those books of the young Cal of Vermont were highly moral, chosen with a fine eye for militant leadership and power. And yet, if C. C. himself be right (and who would dare say otherwise?) see what they brought us!

Eccentricus



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